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SUMMARY

1. In conformance with its post-Stalin tactic of "peaceful co-existence", the CPSU is seeking new areas of cooperation and is forming increasing numbers of new "private" organizations within the Soviet Union for affiliation with counterpart international organizations. Such affiliation is intended to demonstrate the Soviet Union's desire to live with other nations in peace and harmony.
2. However, the actual intentions of the CPSU in adopting the co-existence tactic is to continue the class war on another level.
3. To develop new mechanisms as cover for this new tactic and to carry the new line outside the Soviet orbit, the CPSU is attempting to reach and exploit new international organizations through its affiliates within the Soviet Union. The Inter-Parliamentary Union is an excellent example of how Soviet affiliation alters the character of private international organizations and how the CPSU attempts to utilize such organizations as platforms for promoting its objectives. The extent to which this attempt has thus far succeeded in the IPU reflects the pre-disposition on the part of important IPU elements to accept the current "peace offensive" at face value.

SUBVERSION AND CONTROL OF THE INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION
BY THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

The "peace offensive" launched by the Soviet Union since Stalin's death is a conscious and deliberate attempt by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) to advance the interest of World Communism by ostensibly dissolving the focus of free-world defensive unity -- the aggressive posture of the Soviet Union and the violent nature of the World Communist Movement. To this end, the CPSU has softened the hard lines of Stalinist policy pursued by the Soviet state.

"The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is firmly and confidently leading the Soviet people along the path of building Communism. Guided by the all-conquering teaching of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, it wisely and sagaciously directs the international foreign policy of the Soviet state and with outstanding skill organizes the carrying out of the tasks set."

"The CPSU's foreign policy is based on Lenin's premise on the struggle for peace, peaceful coexistence and competition of socialist and capitalist systems....The Party.... is ably combining the integrity of principle with flexibility in foreign policy."

Soviet obstacles to Austrian independence were withdrawn, relations with West Germany, Yugoslavia and Japan were "normalised." A more reasonable attitude on disarmament was adopted and Porkkala was returned to Finland. The "Summit Conference" was arranged and "tolerance" seemed to take the place of invective in the speeches of Communist Party and government officials. These developments have been paralleled and complemented by a well organized and carefully executed

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"co-existence" campaign designed to portray the Soviet peoples and the Soviet State as champions of international peace, collective security, technical assistance to underdeveloped areas, self-determination of nations and free trade.

The CPSU, directly and through the government of the USSR has marshalled every asset to propagate this new line of "peaceful co-existence." Official media as well as the Communist Front Organizations have been mobilized and geared to the new tempo. All established Party outlets in foreign countries and international organizations are being utilized and entirely new mechanism are being developed.

Further, the new tactic of cooperation and co-existence opens up entirely new areas for exploitation. One of the more striking aspects of the CPSU's "quest for peace" has been its development of "transmission belts", or instruments of influence, in entirely new areas of social, scientific and political activities. Ostensibly in evidence of Soviet desire to develop and maintain friendly contacts in all fields of social, economic and political activity, an increasing number of Soviet and Satellite "private" organizations are being formed for affiliation with counterpart organizations operating at the international level. Many of these organizations, for reasons of their size, prestige, professional competence and affiliation with governmental bodies such as the United Nations and its affiliates, are of considerable importance as means of access to individuals, groups and

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public opinion within free-world countries. One of the oldest and most respectable of these non-governmental groups is the Inter-Parliamentary Union (I.P.U.). The I.P.U., founded in 1888, is an international union of national parliamentary groups. These groups are voluntary associations of individual members of the National parliaments. At present, there are forty-seven national groups in the I.P.U. including most Western countries, the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Albania, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

The statutes of the Union, adopted at its Vienna conference in 1922, state that its purpose is "to promote personal contacts between members of all Parliaments, constituted into National Groups, and to unite them in common action to secure and maintain the full participation of their respective states in the firm establishment and development of democratic institutions and in the advancement of the work of international peace and cooperation, particularly by means of a universal organization of nations." The constitution of the I.P.U., formulated in the years prior to the post-World War II polarization of the world into two conflicting ideologies, is not discriminating in its membership requirements. To qualify, a national group, upon formation, has only to be formed in a territory and within the body representing the population of the territory concerned, and that the territory concerned must be a state recognized by international law.

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This paper will discuss the I.P.U. as an example of deliberate subversion by the CPSU for exploitation as an instrument of the policy of co-existence. An attempt will be made to explain why the CPSU decided to seek control of the I.P.U., how it undertook to do so, and how successful it has been. This represents a considerable reduction in scope from the assigned topic for this paper -- "Communist Party Penetration and Control of NGO's Affiliated with the United Nations." Research for such a comprehensive analysis would have greatly exceeded the time available.

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Contrary to popular belief, the new "peace" and "co-existence" policies of the Soviet Union do not constitute a basic change in the objectives of the CPSU or of World Communism. The strategic objective continues to be, as it has been since establishment of the Third International in 1920, the destruction of capitalism and the seizure of power by the proletariat. Peaceful co-existence among nations means simply that the revolutionary struggle is no longer to be waged by governments, i.e., by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies. The revolutionary struggle must now be waged as "class warfare" and since class struggle is held to be a universal phenomenon in non-Communist countries, no state can be held responsible for its consequences.

"Imperialism itself is the stimulator of revolutions. As the class contradiction becomes more acute within each country, so the working class and the working peasantry rally together. There appear the country's own leaders and organizers, who have not been imported from abroad, as represented by the slanderers. The striking force of the working class -- the revolutionary party -- is organized and tempered in battle. Revolutionary ideas know no frontiers; they travel throughout the world without visas and fingerprints."

But the co-existence of States must not be allowed to interfere with the class struggle.

"Peaceful co-existence does not take away from the right of peoples to change their governments by their majority, democratic action, but presupposes this right." The idea that "peaceful co-existence" must include the maintenance of the status quo is "imperialist propaganda."

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"The action of Communists in capitalist countries, for the defense and emancipation of the working class, the support which they give to the movement of liberation of colonial peoples, has no connection with the problems posed by peaceful co-existence, that is to say, with establishment of peaceful relations between states, whatever their regime."

In Italy, General Secretary Togliatti scorns those,

"who seriously think it possible to assert that consolidation of the detente means that the Communist and Socialist movement has to retreat, that it has to allow itself to be swept aside...and those who declare that there should no longer be any necessity to talk of revolutions, that there should no longer be any revolutionary movements -- and all this will be the result, presumably, of the relaxation of international tension."

The policy of co-existence, therefore, is essentially, the temporary ostensible withdrawal of Soviet state power as an instrument of the revolutionary movement and a resort to "peaceful" or parliamentary tactics as the most effective means of destroying free world strength and furthering the revolution. It is a tactic of flexibility, of adjustment to the strength of the free world. From a Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, co-existence is a compromise which can be justified only because world conditions are unfavorable to more aggressive tactics. "We are realists," Khrushchev said in connection with the 19 September 1955 Soviet-East German talks. "While solving the problems in question, we must soberly evaluate existing conditions."

"The Party solves (its) tasks, guided by the Marxist theory of revolutionary dialectics and by Lenin's admonition to avoid stereotypy and dogmatism, to be flexible in tactics, and always to take into account concrete conditions and study the true picture of living reality."

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As a corollary to the policy of co-existence between nations, World Communism has developed an appeal for united action with non-Communist parties and mass organizations.

"No little unhappiness in the world today stems from the fact that in many countries the working class remained split for many years and its different detachments do not act in a united front...Today many Social Democrats are for an active struggle against the war danger and militarism, for closer relations with Socialist countries, and for unity of the labor movement. We sincerely welcomed the Social Democrats, and are ready to do everything possible to unite our efforts in a fight for the noble cause of the defense of peace and the interests of the working people."

In contrast to this statement, it is interesting to note that, according to accepted Marxist-Leninist dogma, the chief object of the "united front" tactics,

"...is the establishment of the unity of all workers in their struggle against capitalism, the unity of their militant actions are the tactics of irreconcilable struggle against the main obstacle in that struggle, viz., social democracy."

Furthermore, Marxist-Leninist theory is generally contemptuous of parliamentarianism as a form of revolutionary struggle.

"Communist rejects parliamentarianism as the form of the future; it rejects it as a form of the Class Dictatorship of the Proletariat; it rejects the possibility of winning over the parliaments; its fixed aim is to destroy parliamentarianism. Therefore, there can be a question only of utilizing bourgeois State institutions with the object of destroying them...The Communist Party enters such institutions not in order to do constructive work, but in order to direct the masses to destroy from within the whole bourgeois machine and Parliament itself."

The current Soviet preoccupation with inter-parliamentary exchanges and cooperation apparently stems from a combination of adherence to tactical principle and a desire to reap the benefits of increased good-will such as that engendered by visits to the Soviet Union by parliamentary delegations from Britain and Finland during 1954 and from India, Sweden, Syria and Yugoslavia during 1955.

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The importance which the CPSU and the Soviet Government had come to attach to parliamentary exchanges by early 1955 was evidenced by the fact that on February 9, the Supreme Soviet issued a lengthy declaration which concluded,

"The Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics recognizes that great responsibility lies on parliaments for the preservation and strengthening of peace. It is they who pass legislative acts on questions of war and peace.

"The Supreme Soviet of the USSR considers that the establishment of direct links between parliaments, the exchange of parliamentary delegations and speeches by parliamentary delegations of one country in the parliaments of another country will correspond to the desire of the peoples for the development of friendly relations and for cooperation.

"The Supreme Soviet of the USSR will sincerely welcome any steps by parliaments of other states directed towards the strengthening of peace among the peoples."

There is no evidence to indicate that the CPSU had any interests in or was even aware of the existence of the IPU at this time. The February 9 Supreme Soviet declaration was apparently intended to take favorable note of past parliamentary visits and to encourage future exchanges. In view of the attention focussed on the IPU by the Supreme Soviet in later months, it is probable that this declaration would have made specific mention of the IPU or would have laid a basis for participation by Soviet deputies in continuing international organizations if an approach to the IPU was intended at that time.

The genesis of Soviet interest in the IPU is not clear. No East European country except Poland and Yugoslavia joined the Union until 1954. Poland's membership lapsed after World War II and as late as the 42nd Conference of the IPU held in Washington in October 1953, the Union was considered a non-orbit, somewhat visionary but entirely respectable debating society. During the

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Washington Conference the major controversies revolved around the seating of the delegation representing the Spanish Government in exile and agitation by the Irish delegations for unification of Northern Ireland with the Irish free state. The Washington Times Herald editorialized, "Nothing else appeared likely to disturb the normally peaceful operations of the Union which acts as an international debating society dedicated to seeking peaceful settlement of disputes among nations." Poland did not participate in this Conference.

The 43rd Conference of the IPU was held in Vienna in September, 1954 and again there was no evidence of interest on the part of the East European countries, except Yugoslavia, despite the fact that the agenda included such made-to-order topics as the "European Defense Community", "Amendment of U.N. Charter", "Universal Disarmament", "Peace Treaty for Austria", "The IndoChina Peace Agreement" and Welfare of Workers in Non-metropolitan Areas." At the last moment, however, the IPU announced that "The Communist governments of Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary have unexpectedly decided to take part in the annual meeting of the IPU opening tomorrow. A last minute announcement from the Union office tonight said that Bulgaria had decided to join the other two states by sending a delegation of four to the one-week conference." As might have been expected, this Conference was marked by more intense controversy. The Communist delegations assailed U.S. and Western anti-Soviet unity as aggressive alliances, attacked NATO and EDC and campaigned for seating of Red China in the United Nations.

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However, the Conference maintained a sound pro-western position, called for "Liberation of Germany," "Independence for Austria", and rejected a Communist sponsored resolution condemning all experiments with atomic weapons. The Daily Worker could report only that the 43rd Conference voted for Seating of the Chinese Peoples Republic in the U.N. by a vote of 234 to 232 on a resolution submitted by Hungary. In fact, however, the resolution read, "admit those nations who, for past seven years, have pressed for United Nations admission."

The Communist delegations to the 43rd Conference had found the I.P.U. gathering an excellent sounding board for propaganda speeches. Press coverage had been good and the stature of many of the attending deputies lent the proceedings a considerable prestige and authority. Further, the Communists found a powerful ally in the I.P.U.'s traditionally "visionary" attitudes and personalities. They discovered that many of the principle I.P.U. officers and more influential delegates were "visionaries" with strong neutralist and anti-American convictions. The resolution on amendment of the U.N. Charter had been adopted less because of its merits than because it encompassed Red Chinese admission to the U.N. Defeat of the Communist sponsored resolution banning experimentation with atomic weapons was decisive but it brought out a number of very influential non-Communist champions - notably Professor Henri Rolin, prominent Belgian left-wing socialist and president of the Belgian Senate.

It is apparent that the Communist delegations decided that the I.P.U. was a fertile field for exploitation. There was little press coverage of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, convened in Rome on April 13, 1955, to establish

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the agenda for the forthcoming 14th Conference but a press report in the Communist daily L'Unita indicates that the Communists were heavily represented. The importance they attached to this meeting is evidenced by the high-level calibre of their delegations. These included: leading deputies from Czechoslovakia; Secretary of the National Assembly, Minister of Religion and other Cabinet ministers from Rumania; leading Polish deputies; and, the "President," Vice-Minister of Public Education, the Director of the Economic Science Institute and other dignitaries from Hungary. The major item on the agenda adopted by the Rome meeting of the Council was "The Conditions of a True Peaceful Co-Existence between the Nations." This topic was divided into four subheadings:

- a) The juridical and Moral Principles of Co-existence; Report to be presented, in the name of the Committee on Juridical Questions, by Mr. Henri Rolin, former president of the Belgian Senate. (an extreme left-wing Socialist and "neutralist" with strong anti-American leanings.)
- b) International Security and Disarmament in the Light of Present-day Circumstances. Report to be presented, in the name of the Political Committee and the Committee on Reduction of Armaments by Mr. Leo Hamon, Senator (France). (Also an extreme left-wing neutralist.)
- c) The Development of International Exchanges in the Economic Field. Report to be presented, in the name of the Committee on Economic and Financial Questions, by Mr. Harry Hynd, Member of the House of Commons (Great Britain)
- d) Cultural Exchanges and the Free Movement of Persons. Report to be presented, in the name of the Committee on Intellectual Relations, by Baron Nothomb, Senator (Belgium).

Each of these committees were composed of delegates to the Rome Council meeting. The rapporteurs were elected by the committees. This agenda and selection of rapporteurs could hardly have been more favorable to Soviet

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participation. There is no evidence that the Soviet Union had indicated an interest in affiliating with the I.P.U. but the tone of the meeting might very well have been set by the announcement, coinciding with the convening of the meeting, by Giuseppe Codacci, head of the Italian section of the I.P.U., that the USSR recently appealed to all Italian deputies and senators for an exchange of parliamentary delegations and improved diplomatic relations among nations.

The Rome meeting of the Council accepted an invitation from the Finnish section of the I.P.U. to convene the 44th Conference in Helsinki. The date set for this conference was August 24, 1955.

The role of the CPSU in organizing and directing the rash of Communist membership applications to I.P.U. just prior to the Helsinki Conference is not specifically stated but is clear by implication. Less than two months before the opening of the Helsinki Conference, on June 29, "A conference of USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies was held in the Kremlin... under the chairmanship of Deputy M.A. Yasnov. A total of 133 deputies took part in the conference." The purpose of this conference was to consider "the question of forming a USSR national parliamentary group and of its joining the Inter-Parliamentary Union." The agency responsible for calling this special conference was not disclosed but it is evident that those responsible were well prepared. "The participants in the conference learned about the Charter of the Inter-Parliamentary Union..." and "approved a message to all USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies suggesting that they join the USSR parliamentary group. The message notes that the USSR parliamentary

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group's participation in the I.P.U. is in accord with the spirit of the February 9, 1955 declaration by the USSR Supreme Soviet and will help in establishing direct contact between USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies and members of parliaments of other countries.

Again there is no indication of the source of this message but the alacrity with which members of the Supreme Soviet complied with its "suggestion" leaves little doubt. Despite the fact that the Supreme Soviet was not in session and its members were scattered throughout the Soviet Union, Yasnov was able to report to a session of the USSR parliamentary group held on August 5, about five weeks later, that the group's original membership of 133 deputies had grown to 1,250 or over 92% of the total number of deputies in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

The role of the party in the initiation and organization of this demarch becomes clearer upon examination of its leaders. According to a TASS report of August 5, 1955 the Executive Committee of the USSR parliamentary group includes: D.T. Shepilov, Chairman (Shepilov is the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Editor of Pravda, and a candidate member of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR); G.V. Kuusinen and M.A. Yasnov, Deputy Chairmen (Yasnov is a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU, the "mayor" of Moscow and the chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR); J.I. Paleckis and N.A. Mikhailov, representatives of the USSR group to the I.P.U. Council (Mikhailov is a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Minister of Culture in the Council of Ministers of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR).

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An article in *Izvestia* by S. Kondrashov on 29 July clearly indicated the Party's intentions with respect to the I.P.U. and the reasons for its interests.

"The Soviet Union is taking practical steps to promote inter-parliamentary contacts. The visits of foreign parliamentary delegations to the Soviet Union have shown that this form of international intercourse is one of the effective means of establishing confidence and promoting friendly international cooperation. The attainment of this goal will also be facilitated through establishing direct contact between USSR Supreme Soviet deputies and members of the parliaments of other countries within the framework of the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

"It is for this reason that the decision to set up a USSR national parliamentary group and have it join the Inter-Parliamentary Union is fresh practical evidence of the will of the Soviet people to relax world tension.

"This ranks among the measures, approved by world public opinion, which the Soviet Union has taken more recently and which have led to a definite detente in the international atmosphere.

"The results of the Geneva Conference are bound to have a positive effect on the work of the I.P.U. This organization has all that is needed to make its contributions to improving the international situation. The I.P.U., a forum for an exchange of views by the members of parliaments of most countries, can and must become an authoritative proponent of peaceful co-existence of states with different social and economic systems."

To accomplish its objective of making the I.P.U. an "authoritative proponent of peaceful co-existence," the number of delegations participating in I.P.U. meetings which would be responsive to CPSU "guidance" had to be increased. On June 30, 1955, the same date as the report covering formation of the Soviet Parliamentary group, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* carry articles reporting the convening of the Ukraine Supreme Soviet and the formation of a Ukraine Republic national parliamentary group and its application for membership in the I.P.U. Two days later, on July 2, both papers report the convening of a Conference of the

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Byelorussian Republic Supreme Soviet to form a Byelorussian national parliamentary group and join the I.P.U.

On July 15, according to TIRANA, the Albanian Home News Service, a group of 70 deputies held a special conference in one of the halls of the People's Assembly. This meeting was convened on the "initiative of the deputies" to study formation of a national parliamentary group of the Peoples' Republic of Albania for affiliation with the I.P.U. This group was duly formed, according to the same report, in conformance with "the desire of our people, who fight and determinedly work to safeguard peace along with all the peace-loving people of the world."

On July 24, Peng Chen, Secretary General of the National Peoples Congress (NPC) wired I.P.U. officials in Geneva that the NPC would presently form a People's Parliamentary Group for the purpose of joining the Union and taking part in its 44th Conference. On July 30, such a group was formed by unanimous resolution at full meeting of NPC deputies. An Executive Committee was elected consisting of 61 deputies including leaders of "democratic parties," trade unions, women's and youth organizations, jurists, educational leaders, scientists, writers, journalists, "private industrialists" and religious bodies. This conference of the NPC based its interest in the I.P.U. on the grounds that affiliation with the Union would be "beneficial promotion of broad contacts among members of Parliaments in all countries, development of friendly cooperation among all peoples, promotion of peaceful co-existence among all nations, consolidation and development of the cause of democracy." By the opening date of the Conference, membership of the

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Chinese group had reached 1,000 or 90% of the deputies to the NPC.

During the same period, a national parliamentary group was formed by the German Democratic Republic for affiliation with the I.P.U.

It would be absurd to assume that this action and intense interest on the part of the Soviet Union, Albania, the Chinese Peoples Republic and East Germany in membership in the I.P.U. was coincidental or that it resulted from a sudden relaxation of controls which had prevented these countries from joining the I.P.U.

I.P.U. officials reacted favorably to notices of Soviet intention to join. Andre De Bligny, Secretary General of the I.P.U., answered the Soviet notice with a telegram informing the Soviet group that reports of its formation would be forwarded to the Executive Committee without delay. Immediately thereafter the organizing committee of the Arm Conference telegraphed the Soviet group that news of its adherence to the I.P.U. was received with satisfaction and that arrival of the representatives of the Soviet group was awaited. I.P.U. officials apparently did not respond to similar notifications by the other newly formed groups.

Soviet affiliation with the I.P.U. and participation in the Helsinki conference was immediately and widely hailed as further evidence of the Soviet Union's leadership in the search for peace. An editorial in Investia on 29 August, opening day of the Conference, stated,

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"As for the Soviet people, they consider it their paramount aim in the international arena to struggle for the strengthening of peace. The government and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR have demonstrated in deeds that they spare no effort for the defense of peace and that they sincerely are trying to attain the further lessening of international tensions.

"The truth of our peace-loving foreign policy, Comrade Khrushchev said two days ago at a solemn meeting in Bucharest, is immeasurably stronger than the lies of those reactionary newspapers which are continuing their old songs about 'the Soviet threat.' The truth is brighter than the sun and it will break away to the hearts of all the peoples who are anxious for peace.

"The Soviet public ardently welcomes the current conference of the I.P.U. The Soviet people wish this conference success in its work, which is directed toward the strengthening of confidence, cooperation, and peace among nations."

On the same day, the Soviet European Service carried a series of reports in Danish on the Helsinki conference and the significance of participation by the Soviet Union.

"The fact that the USSR is participating in this conference and that it has joined the I.P.U. proves the sincerity of its desire to contribute to the strengthening of international cooperation in all fields...But we hope these events constitute only a beginning. The USSR and Scandinavia are neighbors and must get to know each other. This contributes to friendly relations and both the Soviet and Scandinavian people wish to live in friendship.

"We think the Helsinki Conference has a purpose which is great and important. The conference will not only discuss the topical problems on the agenda, it will also strengthen the connections between the members of parliaments of different countries."

Meanwhile, the I.P.U. Executive Committee, while seating the Soviet and Albanian delegations, had refused to seat the Byelorussian, Ukrainian, Red Chinese and East German delegates. Rejection of the Red Chinese delegation is reported to have been largely due to opposition by the United States delegation which, according to a New York Times article on August 28, "was prepared to leave the conference if Communist China were admitted." Opposition to seating

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The Red Chinese delegation prevailed despite the determination of the "existentialists," as expressed by the President of the Union, Leonid Brezhnev, to achieve admission of the Chinese Peoples Republic. In his opening address to the conference, Lord Stansgate warned that the I.P.U. was "not an arena for power politics and that it should not become an agency for 'negotiation from strength.'" He went on to say that if the Executive Committee should bring about "undue delay in the acceptance of some groups," he would regard such delay as a denial of justice. He explained that "we are not an organization of representatives of Governments and we should, therefore, not take part in the differences among them."

Composition of the Executive Committee, which recommends acceptance or rejection of new members was changed at the end of the Helsinki Conference. The Head of the Soviet delegation, Mikhailov, was elected to the committee and it was enlarged by three members. The terms of three incumbents expired.

At a subsequent meeting of the Committee in New Delhi, its earlier decision not to seat Red China was reversed and the Committee recommended that the Council accept CPR membership.

In December 1955, in a report to the Supreme Soviet at a special session, Mikhailov stated that admission of the CPR was "correct and timely." He then went on to urge that the constitution of the I.P.U. be amended to permit the admission of the Ukraine and Byelorussia. He also declared that the CPR had "all the moral and juridical rights to be represented" in the Union.

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However, to the consternation of the Soviet and People's Democratic representatives in the I.P.U., the Inter-Parliamentary Council at its meeting in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, for the first time in the history of the I.P.U. rejected the Executive Committee's recommendation that the CPR be accepted as a member of the I.P.U. The intentions of the Soviet delegation, with respect to achieving admission of the CPR, was summed up after protracted debate in a formal declaration to the Council:

"Any discrimination in regard to the CPR parliamentary group cannot be tolerated. Prejudgment in the question of admitting a parliamentary group of the Chinese People's Republic only damages the prestige of the Inter-Parliamentary Union in the eyes of the world public opinion.

"Proceeding from the afore-mentioned and basing itself on the decisions of the Executive Committee in Delhi and also on the stipulations of the charter, the USSR parliamentary group insists on a consistent and democratic implementation of the Delhi decision of the Executive Committee, which has never been revoked by anybody and cannot be revoked by the Council and which justly and lawfully holds that the Chinese People's Republic has every right to be a member of the I.P.U.

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CONCLUSION

The interest of the CPSU and the Soviet Union in the I.P.U. is as an instrument for the propagation of the new "peaceful co-existence" line and for facilitation and implementation of the united front tactic at both the national and international levels. Since the I.P.U. consists largely of free-world members, Soviet and Satellite affiliation with the I.P.U. can be exploited as a demonstration of World Communist wishes to collaborate with free-world legislators in parliamentary debate on common problems and to co-exist with such groups in peace and friendship. I.P.U. acceptance of Communist minimum demands and the formulation of joint or common positions on political and policy questions provides an important example of united action. The good will and favorable impressions of peaceful intentions evidenced by Soviet delegations at I.P.U. conferences and lesser meetings serve quickly and effectively to allay the fears of suspicious legislators. These individuals, upon return to their home parliaments, are less disposed to question the peaceful motives of World Communism and more inclined to cooperate with local Communist Parties. Further, since the I.P.U. is a non-governmental organization of representatives of the "peoples" of the member countries, the Union is an instrument of class warfare and can be used to further the interests of the working classes.

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CPSU efforts to subvert the I.P.U. to its own propaganda purposes have largely succeeded due to two principal factors: 1) I.P.U. acceptance of Communist-controlled parliamentary groups and; 2) the predisposition on the part of a large number of I.P.U. officers and delegates to accept Soviet peace overtures at face value. There is no evidence that the CPSU has attempted to penetrate the I.P.U. Such measures have been unnecessary. However, there are indications that anti-Communist strength in the I.P.U. will be organized and more effectively directed against exploitation of the Union by the Soviets for Propaganda purposes. If such a move proves effective, a concerted effort by the CPSU to gain control through penetration should be expected.

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